

# WOMEN RAISE QUESTION: "WHY FORCE WOMEN TO VOTE?"

A Page of Anti-Suffrage Arguments, Edited by Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.  
President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

## Mrs. Dodge Tells of Inception and Growth of Woman's Organized Movement Against Suffrage.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was formed for the purpose of assisting women to organize against suffrage in states where no anti-suffrage organization exists, and to strengthen, by co-operation, the different state associations. The presidents of the various state organizations form the officers and board of directors of the national association.

When the national association was organized, in November, 1912, there were in existence associations in the states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Rhode Island, Illinois and Oregon. Since that time associations have been formed in Connecticut, New Hampshire, Washington, D. C., Ohio, Wisconsin, Virginia, New Jersey, Vermont and Michigan.

Men's leagues are being formed in many states, the largest in Massachusetts. The women who are most active in the state associations are prominent in educational and philanthropic work, and some of them have been pioneers in civic and municipal reforms.

Those who are opposed to woman suffrage believe that women do not yet realize the enormous opportunities which have been given to them in the last forty years, and that they have not yet been able to adapt themselves to new conditions, or do all the work which is now within their power. By throwing women into the arena of active politics, and the holding of elective offices, with all that it implies, neither women themselves nor the state will be benefited. It is far better that the serious purpose of ability and experience to be found among women in many walks of life should be used for the benefit of the community, and that women of judgment and energy should be appointed on such educational, charitable, sanitary and reformatory boards, commissions and committees as the safe methods of utilizing their capacities and interest in the public welfare.

Women should serve the state in every way possible without jeopardizing the home by the entrance into active politics. Anti-suffragists believe as do the suffragists, that through women, with their increased opportunities and advancements, shall come many reforms for the betterment of the condition of women and children, but differ from the suffragists in the belief that it can be through the ballot box.

The national association has its office at No. 35 West 23rd street, New York City, where the monthly meetings of the board of directors are held. It issues a monthly magazine, "The Woman's Protest," devoted to arguments against suffrage and news concerning the anti-suffrage movement all over the country, which has grown rapidly.

Pamphlets giving arguments against woman suffrage are sent on request.

Books recommended for reading: "The Ladies' Battle," Molly Elliot Seawell; "Book of Woman's Power," "Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons," Grace Duffield Goodwin; "The Business of Being a Woman," Ida M. Tarbell; "Woman Adrift," Harold Owen.

## MOVEMENT 'BEHIND TIMES'

### Would Be Imposition on Women, Mrs. Chittenden Thinks.

The movement for woman suffrage is in reality fifty years behind the times. It belongs to the past rather than the present. In that it clings to the belief that the ballot in itself is a panacea for all existing evils. At the time of the French Revolution, and even half a century ago, universal suffrage was widely regarded as being a short cut to the solution of all governmental problems and evils. But that day has passed. Men have found that social reforms could not be brought about by merely voting on election day. That is the reason they have organized commissions and committees to consider the questions of child labor, tuberculosis, the care of dependent children and kindred subjects from an economic and humanitarian point of view, in order to educate and stimulate opinion to a more intelligent and comprehensive understanding of these questions. They realize that public opinion must first create a demand for a law, and afterward enforce it in order to make the law effective. In this task of moulding and stimulating public opinion woman plays a great and important part.

We believe in a woman's right to the control of her earnings and her property, the right to make contracts and to be protected in her work; in the right to be joint guardian of her children with her husband. To-day woman in New York State has not needed the ballot to gain any of these rights, and if it were known that she would never have the ballot none of them would be taken away from her. But we go a step further in our belief in woman's rights and hold that she should be exempt from sharing the burdens and responsibilities of government since she cannot do all things and do them well, and it is her highest right as well as her duty to give herself unreservedly to the great work which she is called upon to do, that of ministering to all life. ALICE HILL CHITTENDEN, President, New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

## CARDINAL GIBBONS HOSTILE

### Political Arena Not Woman's Sphere, Says Prelate.

I am hostile to woman suffrage, always have been and will continue to be. Some one is always asking me why I oppose woman suffrage. I am always wondering why they ask me that question. I have written about the subject for years; I have preached about it and I will continue to urge that nothing be done which will take woman out of her proper sphere. When a woman enters the political arena she goes outside the sphere for which she was intended. She gains nothing by that journey. On the other hand, she loses that exclusiveness, respect and dignity to which she is entitled in her home.

To debar woman from such pursuits is not to degrade her. To restrict her field of action to the gentler avocations of life is not to fetter her aspirations after the higher and better. It is, on the contrary, to secure to her not equal rights, so called, but those supereminent rights that cannot fall to endow her with a sacred influence in her own proper sphere, for as soon as woman trenches on the domain of man she must not be surprised to find that the



Miss Ida M. Tarbell

reverence once accorded her has been in part or wholly withdrawn.

CARDINAL GIBBONS.

## ROOT'S VIEWS ON SUFFRAGE

### Says It Would Injure State and Be Loss to Women.

I am opposed to granting of suffrage to women, because I believe that it would be a loss to women, to all women and to every woman; and because I believe it would be an injury to the state, to every man and every woman in the state. It would be useless to argue this if the right of suffrage were a natural right. If it were a natural right, then women should have it though the heavens fall. But if there be one thing settled in the long discussion of this subject, it is that suffrage is not a natural right, but is simply a means of government; and the sole question to be discussed is whether government by the suffrage of men and women will be better government than by the suffrage of men alone.

The question is, therefore, a question of expediency, and the question of expediency upon this subject is not a question of tyranny, but a question of liberty, a question of the preservation of free constitutional government, of law, order, peace and prosperity.

Into my judgment there enters no element of the inferiority of woman. It is not that woman is inferior to man, but it is that woman is different from man; that in the distribution of powers, of capacities, of qualities, our Maker has created man adapted to the performance of certain functions in the economy of nature and society, and woman adapted to the performance of other functions. One question to be determined in the discussion of this subject is whether the nature of woman is such that her taking upon her the performance of the functions implied in suffrage will leave her in the possession and the exercise of her highest powers or will be an abandonment of those powers and an entering upon a field in which, because of her differences from man, she is distinctly inferior.

I have said that I thought suffrage would be a loss for women. I think so because suffrage implies not merely the casting of the ballot, the gentle and peaceful fall of the snowflake; but suffrage, if it means anything, means entering upon the field of political life, and politics is modified war. In politics there is struggle, strife, contention, bitterness, heart burning, excitement, agitation, everything which is adverse to the true character of woman. Woman rules today by the sweet and noble influences of her character. Put woman into the arena of conflict and she abandons these great weapons which control the world, and she takes into her hands weapons with which she is unfamiliar and which she is unable to wield.

The whole science of government is the science of protecting life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of protecting our person, our property, our homes, our wives and our children against foreign aggression, against civil dissension, against mobs and riots. Against crime and disorder, and all the army of evil, civil society wages its war, and government is the method of protection, protection of us all.

In the divine distribution of powers, the duty and the right of protection rests with the male. It is so throughout nature. It is so with men. It is a great mistake, it is a fatal mistake that these excellent women make when they conceive that the functions of men are superior to theirs and seek to usurp them. The true government is in the household. The highest exercise of power is that which forms the conscience, influences the will, controls the impulses of men, and there today woman is supreme and woman rules the world. ELIHU ROOT.

## SUFFRAGE AND FRANCHISE

### Henry A. Wise Says Women Voters Have Not Helped.

Primarily there are many obligations incident to the franchise which woman is not capable of bearing. If man in the exercise of his franchise is not capable of doing justice to woman, I do not believe that woman's condition will be in any way improved by giving her the franchise.

The greater the extent of the franchise, the greater are the difficulties incident thereto.

My observation is that in the communities where woman has been given the suffrage there has been no material improvement in conditions, and my further observation in this regard is that a very large percentage of the best women in the communities where the franchise is vested in them do not exercise it.

If women will use their influence with their husbands and sons and brothers, they can better conditions in that way more quickly than they can by exercising the franchise themselves.

If the women up to the present time, with only men to deal with, have not been able to produce satisfactory results,

let them consider what will be their difficulties when they have both sexes to deal with. History does not indicate that the ballot elevates the moral tone of any one, and women have all of the weaknesses that men are heir to.

Let us produce a cleaner and purer condition in the franchise as it now exists before we add any other elements to the already difficult situation.

HENRY A. WISE,  
United States District Attorney.

## DAMAGE TO WOMANKIND

### Dr. Schlapp Thinks Question Not One of Equality.

Dr. Max G. Schlapp, of Cornell Medical School, came out recently in a powerful protest against the tendency of the modern woman to interest herself in sterner activities of the industrial world. Dr. Schlapp is in a position to understand the appalling damage being done to womankind through the operations of this tendency. I venture to quote some of the most striking passages from his protest, which appeared recently in "The Outlook" under the graphic title "The Enemy at the Gate":

"Never before has the world done its work under such high tension as today."

"Industrialism that is absorbing the vitalities of men is doing still greater damage to women. It used to be somewhat unusual for women to go out into the world of work. Only the daughters of the very poorest families gave their lives to industrialism. Now women have almost displaced men in many kinds of employment. Office work is done almost exclusively by women. The great office buildings of the city are filled with women employees."

"Public men who attend several receptions, several dinners and make ten or twelve speeches in an afternoon or evening, besides travelling as many miles as make a day of work for a trainman, are only a reflex of class industry that demands all there is in a man from day to day. The woman who belongs to clubs and societies, acting on scores of committees, taking part in meetings, negotiating business deals for the cause, until she trembles from the excitement of it all, is following the example, spurred on by a restless energy that is due to disregard of mental and physical hygiene."

"We have here the first explanation of the abnormally active woman. The nervous organization works peculiar changes in body and mind. The mind, perfectly sane, but balanced like a hair-trigger, becomes supersensitive to external impressions. Calm judgment leaves it. It becomes enthusiastic over a propaganda at which before it would be aghast."

"Pleasures cease to give the stimulation desired, and new ideas come that seem, and perhaps are, bigger and worthier. Then women advance, as they have now,

to dispute the philosophy of the ages, to contest with men in all pursuits and set up their own plans of life."

"Gentle women, naturally retiring and unassertive, become suffragists and suffragettes, and they stand boldly on a soapbox in a public square, before a motley throng, to proclaim their demands."

"These same women, driven by the exigencies of the hour, approve such conduct on the part of their sisters as that of breaking up of meetings, storming and insulting public men in the streets, throwing stones and smashing windows. These conditions are only an evidence of a nervous distress that has become universal."

"We are developing a womanhood that is becoming free of the instinctive desire for motherhood, and frequently without the capacity for it. The racial strength of reproduction is declining. The birth rate drops, and of the children born the proportion of those infirm increases, so at last we are confronted with the proof that the high-speed effort of our daily lives has brought suffering not only upon ourselves, but also upon our children. It is shocking to contemplate how far the visitation has extended."

"The rate is told in figures. There are more criminals and imbeciles to each 1,000 of population than ever before. There are fewer births to each 1,000 population."

"Later-day women, driven by the strife of the elements within them to enormous exertions, are asking in what way women are inferior to men and are attempting to demonstrate their equal physical endurance. It is not a question of equality at all. It is one of physical difference in the sexes which forbids women from performing either factory labor or disquieting tasks."

## PERIL OF INDIFFERENT VOTE

### Ex-Secretary Fairchild Sees Menace in Suffrage.

I fear this question of woman suffrage has been treated too much in the past by men as if it were a joke, as if it were an amusing thing, and as if it did not amount to very much. Men that is not the way to meet your public duty. This thing is either very right or very

In next Sunday's issue of The Tribune various leading advocates and exponents of the Woman Suffrage cause will reply to the arguments advanced upon this page by their opponents.

wrong. There is no middle ground about it, and you have got to consider it from that standpoint. I believe that it should not be.

My first reason is that it will somewhat increase the percentage to the whole of your unreliable, possibly your corrupt, vote. I do not say that it will, but I say it may do so. It probably will not diminish that to the whole. It surely will increase the percentage of your indifferent vote, or vote which does not go to the polls, the vote which does not consider questions, the vote which does not take part in government, and, to my mind, that vote is more threatening to our country to-day than its corrupt vote.

CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD,  
Secretary of the Treasury under President Cleveland.

## WOULD WEAKEN WOMEN

### Mrs. Hoeyeler Says Their Power Is Greater Without Vote.

Many earnest women have told why they are opposed to equal suffrage much better than I can, so I only add my word of encouragement to the silent sisters, hoping they will be silent no longer, but come forward and say: "It must not come." Instead of sitting quietly at home, saying "I suppose it will come." Of course, it will come; it is bound to come. If all the work is done by the few who want it, while the great majority who deplore it say nothing. How can the men who say: "If the majority want the franchise let them have it," know which is the majority, if that majority forever holds its peace, while our friends the suffragists are continually urging and clamoring?

We have a hard enough position in being the opposing instead of the aggressive force. Do not misunderstand my meaning. I do not oppose progress. I welcome all efforts to help women to a broader intellectuality, but think the ballot has no necessary connection with education and opportunity. If women are eager to do, and insist upon their share in adding reform, and the betterment of social conditions, they do not need the suffrage; their power is much greater without it.

MRS. WILLIAM A. HOEYELER,  
of Pittsburgh.

## THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN

### Suffragist Non-Progressive, Mrs. John Martin Says.

I am often asked why it is that a woman must neglect her home if she votes. Surely she can express herself in public affairs and still be faithful to home duties. Why cannot she do both? She can do both, but it is like billiards—you have to hit two balls, but you must hit your first ball first and carrom from that to the second. She can influence the state through the home, but she cannot influ-



Miss Alice Hill Chittenden

ence the home through the state. The home is her first ball. Unless she makes a hit there her play does not count.

Progressivism is a thing that is needed by the times, and this is my objection to the suffragist—that she is not progressive. The current need of humanity is that it shall set about at once the great task of breeding and rearing a higher race. The responsibility for this great task, the greatest that mankind has ever attempted, a task beside which the building of pyramids and the cutting of Panama canals are child's play, falls peculiarly within woman's province. The real woman's movement will come one day, and will be one which shall awaken her as never before to the responsibilities of this impending fact. To-day progress runs in the direction of those things which discourage the distracting and the diverting of woman's mind from this great task. Progress lies in the direction of those things which shall encourage the forward march of woman along the lines of her natural unfolding to this her destiny and her perfect fulfillment.

MRS. JOHN MARTIN.

## SAYS IT THREATENS HARM

### Mrs. Francis M. Scott Points Warning with Argument.

Woman suffrage is an extreme measure, which threatens harm as well as promises good, and extreme measures, if they can be held at bay for a while, subside to that more temperate course which threatens less, while it fulfills the better part of the promises.

Women are so necessary for the work of the world that they are bound to be more and more used in its service—not philanthropic alone, but civic as well. As the men already on boards, commissions and committees find the value of the women who work with them women will be more and more used in appointive positions, and these will be the women selected for their capacity, training and freedom from other obligations. In this way the state will have the benefit of her valuable women citizens, and social conditions will not be disturbed or harmed by the politically valueless. The right of women property owners to vote on property questions, for mothers to vote on school questions—these and other things will settle themselves in the general readjustment of progress, as similar things have done in the past and are doing all the time. All women interested in the betterment of public affairs can then form a sort of moral union, which will have an immense influence on public opinion and through that upon legislation and the enforcement of the law.

Is woman suffrage sure to come some time? No; it is not inevitable, not even probable, but of course is possible. The longer we succeed in holding off universal suffrage the less likely it is to come.

MRS. FRANCIS M. SCOTT.

## SAYS FEW WOMEN WANT IT

### Mrs. Markham on Conditions in Connecticut.

The Connecticut Association was organized November 27, 1911. During the past fifteen months we have formed thirteen branches with a membership of 5,489. In the past year we have had four largely attended mass meetings, besides numerous parlor meetings. The branches have all had well attended meetings.

We have proved the fact that less than 4 per cent of the women in the state want the ballot, based on a deduction made from the statements of the suffragists as to their enrollment at their annual meeting in November. Connecticut has a total population of 1,111,756, of which 349,349 are women of voting age. The suffragists in their petitions claim that 11,500 women are asking for equal franchise. Therefore, they claim exactly 3 29-100 of the women in their petitions, and that after forty-three years' campaign for equal rights in Connecticut.

MRS. DANIEL A. MARKHAM,  
President, Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

## DANGER TO THE NATION

### Mrs. Putnam Calls Suffrage Arguments Sophistries.

The danger to the nation in the agitation for woman suffrage is very grave, and the sophistry with which it is urged is most deceiving. Its advocates have the ardor of the fanatic and the zeal of the crusader. They believe themselves to be the true advocates of progress. It is for us to show that progress can only be made along the lines where Nature leads, that only by working with her can any gain be effected. The time in which we are living is a very critical one, not only for our country, but for the whole world. Women hold the future in their keeping, and it is because we believe so strongly in the need for woman's work and woman's power that we are anti-suffragists.

MRS. WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM,  
of Massachusetts Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

## Miss Ida M. Tarbell Gives Reasons for Her Belief That Suffrage Would Not Benefit Women.

The assumption that the improvement of woman's position depends upon the vote is quite as unsound as the charge of her inferiority. Sixty years ago it was held that the only road to the broad and full plan of education which the new democratic scheme made imperative was the ballot, but that scheme has been realized to the full without a single woman's vote. Free and diversified professional opportunity was said to depend upon suffrage, but a woman can be almost what she will to-day. It has not taken a vote of hers to set professional doors ajar, and they will surely swing further open, ballot or no ballot.

Undoubtedly the argument for suffrage which to-day causes most hesitation among the thoughtful and sympathetic who are not convinced of the wisdom of extending suffrage to women is that fair conditions and wages for the great body of women in industry can only be realized by giving them the suffrage, that they need it for self-protection. The rapid advance which protective legislation for women and children is making, the absolute certainty that it will be soon as perfect as has been conceived and will be improved as rapidly as it is learned how to improve it, the absolute certainty that wages depend not on votes but economic laws, are the best answers to this.

The woman in industry is after all but a transient—her working life averaging but a few years. She graduates from shop or factory to real life. The best that can be done for her is to see to it that this brief industrial period does not impair her physically or morally for her high functions, and, above all, that it does not lead her to believe even dimly that there are happier or more useful things than those to which she instinctively turns. A training that will lead her to apply her powers with appreciation and enthusiasm to domestic and not to political life is what she needs. Moreover, as a class the industrial woman as we see her to-day will pass as this country regains the industrial balance it has lost, as the present unhealthy and abnormal attention given to manufacturing ceases and commerce and agriculture are restored to their proper place.

A harmful and unsound implication in the suffrage argument has been that woman's position in society would improve in proportion as her activities and interests become the same as those of men. This implies of course that man's work in society is more important and developing than woman's. But both are essential to society, and who can prove that one essential factor is superior to another essential factor? Argue as scientists will as to which sex is primary and which secondary, they prove nothing, since the race ceases where either breaks down. As for a woman developing more perfectly under masculine conditions, all the laws of growth are against it. Her aptitudes and instincts and functions are different. It is in following them that she grows most easily. Unconscious living along the lines of one's nature is always most logical and fruitful. Doing a man's work in a man's way almost invariably means for a woman self-consciousness, friction, self-suppression. It is costly to society and to the individual, for it means at least the partial atrophy of powers and qualities peculiar to woman and essential to the harmony, the charm and the vigor of society. Her differences are her strength. Their full growth completes the human cycle. To suppress these differences is to rob not merely her individual life but the life of the world of its full ripeness.

IDA M. TARBELL.

## IDEAS FOR MR. WILSON.

"If the tariff comes off," the Senator said, "why, then, we'll have to get our revenues through other taxes. There are some queer taxes abroad that we might adopt."

"In Serbia, vanity is taxed—a 40 per cent tax on wigs, on rouge and on pads and bustles."

"Bachelors are heavily taxed in several countries, but spinsters everywhere escape this impost."

"Matrimony is taxed in China, and the older the bridegroom is than the bride the greater the tax levied on him. It is the wise Chinese theory that, when an old man gets a young wife, he is necessarily a rich old man, and one well able to stand a heavy tax."

"In Italy, salt is taxed. Matches are taxed in France. These things yield an enormous revenue and the tax is very little felt."

"Germany taxes music. If you play the piano you must pay a tax, and if you sing you are taxed again. Good old Germany!"

"Music, lachelerhood, cosmetics, bustles, mercenary and ignoble marriages—whether these taxes would be popular or not here, I think that, if heavy enough, they would improve American conditions."

## BOTTLE-FED FRUIT.

The peaches and pears were like pumpkins, the grapes and strawberries like apples, and the millionaire said:

"Yes, I grew all this fruit in my own hothouse. It is, you know, bottle-fed fruit."

"Bottle-fed fruit?" a young girl asked. "Yes," said the millionaire. "Bottle-feeding is the latest wrinkle in the growing of this enormous winter hothouse fruit, and it has increased the fruit's size and sweetness 80 or 90 per cent."

"This is the method: When a peach or a pear is young and green and hard the gardener passes through it a needle and thread of coarse cotton, leaving both threads end sticking out. He does this thread eight or ten ends are obtained. These ends he puts into bottles of sugar-and-water syrup, and the syrup, flowing along the cotton, is absorbed by the fruit-sucked up by it—sucked up as babies are suckled by milk—the fruit, in word, is bottle-fed."

"And bottle-fed fruit, as you see for yourselves, is bigger and more delicate than the ordinary kind. The tiny punctures made by the needle leave only a small, black scar."

## THE AGE OF COSMETICS.

Lady Aberdeen, at a dinner in New York, uttered a neat epigram on the modern woman.

"The modern woman," she said, "rarely weeps—her complexion won't stand it."